



## THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 24, 1851.

## THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Were there no colored people in this country, and were the question of the expediency of introducing them submitted to us, there would be no difference of opinion: all would unite in opposing it. But, they are here, to the number of between three and four millions; their ancestors were brought hither without their consent; they have been born here in the order of Nature. They cannot be enslaved always, and ought not to, if they could.

What course, then, should we pursue towards them? What does Duty, what does Policy, require? In this, as in all other cases, Christianity furnishes a clear, infallible rule of conduct—"Do unto others as you would that others do to you?" We must treat the colored people as we should wish to be treated, were we in their condition. If slaves, we would ask our freedom; if free, the enjoyment of our freedom. In divesting others, innocent of crime, of their liberty, or in making liberty to those who are free, a burden, we are doing precisely what we should resist to the death, as oppression, were it attempted towards us. This point is too clear for argument: a multitude of words would but obscure it.

But, the path of Duty is the path of Safety. Obedience to the Golden Rule never yet worked evil, and never can. We may not be able to see clearly, if at all, the consequences of our own acts, but we know that the fruit of righteousness is and must be peace.

This is a summary method of disposing of the questions of Duty and Policy in relation to the Colored Population; too summary to correct the misapprehensions, to expose the sophistries, to overcome the prejudices, which surround and perplex the subject. Let us examine the Question in its detail, addressing ourselves to those who believe the perpetual enslavement and the degradation of the colored race, equally impracticable.

The colored race is an improvable one, whether so rapidly or to such a degree as the white race it is not necessary to inquire. But, it is improvable to an indefinite extent. Its history shows that, like other races, it is amenable to the Law of Progress. No one will deny that American slaves have advanced in all respects far beyond their ancestors, imported from Africa who were mere uncivilized Pagans, of brutish ignorance and loathsome practices. Their descendants, even under the system of slavery, have been redeemed from barbarism and heathenism. They have been trained to habits of regular, methodical labor; they have acquired that of tools, they have been initiated into the arts of civilized life; they have imbibed some ideas of self-government; they have been indoctrinated into some general notions of Christianity: and the present generation is much superior in all these respects to the preceding, as that was to the immediate descendants of the imported Africans. We have never conversed with a slaveholder who did not acknowledge, and take pride in acknowledging, this steady advancement of the race.

Similar progress is observable among free people. We know how common it is with thoughtless or prejudiced persons to revile this class of population, as lazy, thievish, and licentious. A few considerations will suffice to show their injustice. The question is, not whether these people are as elevated as white people, but whether they give evidence of improvement. A little more than a century ago, their fathers were Pagans. They themselves have been slaves, or they are the children of slaves. Can you expect to see among them the same intelligence, refinement, and comparative exemption from vicious practices, that characterize the white people, who have enjoyed the benefits of ages of civilization, and have controlled all the resources of this country for their own special benefit? Suppose you do find more poverty among them, more ignorance, a greater number of them in our jails and houses of correction, it only proves that their release from slavery has been too recent and their disabilities are too heavy to allow of their easy ascent to the elevation of a People whose fathers have never known the yoke of bondage, or the degradation of caste legislation.

Let us compare the free people of color now with what they were a generation ago, and every intelligent man must admit their improvement. They are less pusile and barbarous in their tastes; not so strongly marked by ridiculous pretensions; more sedate and self-respectful; more bent on self-improvement. The number of property-holders among them has greatly multiplied; they have more schools, more churches, more benevolent associations. Let any one observe the good taste in dress, and the quietness of demeanor, which mark our recent colored population in this city, in their attendance at their various churches on Sundays, and he cannot doubt that they have taken a large step in advance of slaves. What is true of them here, is true of them in other places. Everywhere they show evidence of progress. Nor should we bate at their slow growth in civilization, for never had any people to struggle against such obstacles. In addition to the degrading memories of their prison-house, look at the relations they sustain to the community generally. In the South, the labor is performed by slaves. The owner of a plantation of one hundred negroes or more needs no free-laborers, but repels them, especially if they be of the same race with his slaves. Even poor white men find it almost impossible to obtain work, and maintain a position in a region where the system of slave labor prevails: what chance is there for the free colored man? Now, what is the labor to do, if we can find no employment?

In the free States, the labor is monopolized to a great extent by the white race, which is constantly receiving vast accessions of laborers from Europe. This formidable competition limits the field of operations, and lessens the opportunities of the colored man. Of less native energy and tact, laboring under legal discriminations against him, he must seek employment in a labor market, crowded with more enterprising and highly-favored competitors.

The common argument against emancipation, drawn from the condition of the free people of color, is grossly unfair. Nowhere have these people been placed in circumstances favorable to their development. In St. Domingo, when the civil war commenced, the blacks were scarcely more civilized than when brought from Africa. They were in fact a savage people, and, having accomplished their emancipation by a series of bloody struggles, calculated to bring into terrible activity the worst passions and vices of savage nature, what could be expected of them subsequently but a succession of failures in their attempts to govern themselves? Besides, we must remember, that the only colonies, so far, that have succeeded in the great work of self-government, are those established under the auspices of English or American civilization.

In the British West Indies, the colored people, while they have not degenerated under a system of free labor, have not manifested that marked improvement which is demanded by the upholders of slavery, as an evidence of the expediency of emancipation. True, they are slowly growing in intelligence; marriage is becoming more common among them; crime is less frequent; there is no pretense that they are not quiet and peacefully disposed; but, they are indolent, unenterprising, thriftless, improvident. We admit it; but, is no allowance to be made for the influence of climate? Are the white people in those islands as industrious and enterprising as the white people in this country? Is no allowance to be made for the ruinous workings of the abettors of proprietors, and the miserable civilization under the wasteful supervision of attorneys and agents?

Is it fair to predicate any conclusion in regard

to emancipation in our country from its effects in Hayti and the British West Indies? Our slaves are not barbarous, as were the negroes of St. Domingo, whose savagery was aggravated by the cruelty of the French planters; they are as weak numerically, in proportion to our white population, as they were strong in St. Domingo in proportion to its white population; nor is any bloody revolution contemplated. Our slaves are far more civilized and intelligent than were the slaves of the British West Indies; our climate is less enervating; with us, they constitute a minority, as, in them, they were the majority; our planters attend to their own estates, which are not covered all over with plantations, as was the case in the West Indies. In the event of emancipation, the South would not be cursed by absenteism; the planters would be on the spot to manage to their own interests, and they would possess the political power, so that they could make what provisions they might deem judicious for the regulation of the relations of the employer and the employed. In the British West Indies, the act of emancipation was forced upon the planters against their will; at first, they threw obstacles in the way of its successful working; then they contented themselves with simply withholding cordial cooperation; it was long before they would try to make the best of their new condition. 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## THE NATIONAL ERA.

For the National Era.  
THE WANDERER.  
—  
BY M. HEMSTEAD.

"Twas a stern December sunset—  
Stern, though fair and goryous still—  
Blushing crimson was the river,  
And the cloud upon the hill;—  
But the north side of the forest—  
Oh! twas bitter cold and chill.  
"Father," said a little daughter  
Of the minister, "to-day,  
When you told us about Daniel,  
How the world would cease to pray,  
That a law was made against it—  
It was right, did you say?"  
"And the world is still bodily  
Dared to disobey the King—  
Was it right for them to venture  
On so dangerous a road?  
When they knew not, of a surly,  
What deliverance God would bring?"  
"Yes, my child," replied the father,  
And his look was almost stern;  
"Therefore does my daughter question?  
Surely then art slow to learn  
Of the prophets and apostles,  
And the world's history, turn,  
That the law of God is still—  
In the fearless Christian's guide;  
Sinful men sin full sinless;  
And the truth is turned aside,  
But the laws of God are perfect,  
And must evermore abide!"

Not again the child made answer,  
But in silence bowed her head,  
While upon the wall the firelight  
Mingled with the sunset red;  
Then in haste a servant entering,  
To his reverend master said:

"Sir, there is a stranger woman  
Wants to see you at the door;  
She is poor, and has no home—  
Never did I before—  
One that such a scanty garment  
Or a wild an aspect wore!"

Wonderingly the little maiden  
Closes against the window pane  
Presses her cheek to see the stranger  
"None have ever sought in vain,  
At my door," replied the master,  
As the servant turned again.

To his door the good man hastened,  
But the hall was dark and cold;  
There a poor, shivering dame—  
"Twas no longer taught and bold—  
But a WOMAN, faint with travel.  
Shuddering with affright and cold!

"I have need of food and clothing,  
But I am weak and failing—  
"Twas a fugitive enters you,  
Only let me here abide;  
Give me but one night's protection,  
And a corner where to hide!"

"Save me! for the love of Heaven,  
Will you give me to the bloodhounds?  
Will you let them drag me back,  
To be scolded, to be trampled,  
To the rack on the rack?"

"God protect you!" said the pastor,  
For I cannot let you go;  
But you are fallen into me;  
But it is the will of Heaven  
That our robes have been made;

O, that gaze of speecheless anguish!  
O, that heart wrung woman's wail!

As the hunted slave flew onward,  
Made his very head to quail—  
Made his very hair to stiffen,  
And his face turn pale!

But the door was shut and bolted,  
And the fugitive was alone;  
But the stranger from the hill-top  
Had descended to the town;

Vain, poor, constable and plater,  
Vain the errant eye are on.

When the moon arose that evening,  
On the evil and the good,  
Two poor tenants of a hovel,  
That beside the forest stood,  
Found the hunted woman lying  
Where they went to gather wood;

Bore her to their wretched dwelling,  
Placed her on its only bed,  
Wet her parching lips with water,  
Stirred her with a handkerchief,  
Clad her limbs, and watched beside her  
In the morning, the was dead!

And the pastor gave a coffin,  
That decent grave was made,  
And a manger group assembled,  
And the pastor prayed—  
Standing with his head uncovered  
When the silent dust was laid.

Hitherto in speech so gifted,  
Whereof did his language fail?  
Wherefore did his accents tremble?  
What could make his cheek so pale?  
No one living has seen him,  
And the dead can tell no tale!

O! hearken the pastor gently,  
For his punishment is sore!

Little lower than the angels  
Had he deemed himself before;

Now, even consciousness of manhood  
Lives within his soul no more!

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ceived or not, misled. I think, also, that the attempt was unnecessary; that political ends—merely political ends—and not real evils, resulting from the escape of slaves, constituted the pre-vaient cause.

I think, also, that the details of the measure are indefensible; that the denial to the alleged fugitive of a trial of his alleged obligation to labor, and of his escape from it, by a Court, and nothing less than a Court of Justice, constitutionally organized, and proceeding according to the course of the common law within the State where he had sought refuge, is contrary to the Constitution; that the rules of evidence which the law prescribes are oppressive of the weak and defenceless, and that Christendom might be searched in vain for a parallel in the provisions which make escape from bondage a crime, by law retrospective in its effect, and without limitation of time. I have never heard of a case of freedom, which, under so rigorous a law, would not be freed to aid in the capture of slaves, and which offer unmistakable inducements to false claims and false judgments. Finally, whatever changes opinions may have undergone, I retain my earliest convictions that the constitutional provision which makes the slaves of the United States to be found merely a compact between the States, and that the Congress of the United States have no jurisdiction of the subject.

Nor is the law, which is so abominous in itself, commanded to my favor by its connection with what are called the other measures of compromise. Consider, for instance, the clause in the Constitution, which, under so rigorous a law, would be freed to aid in the capture of slaves, and which offer unmistakable inducements to false claims and false judgments. Finally, whatever changes opinions may have undergone, I retain my earliest convictions that the constitutional provision which makes the slaves of the United States to be found merely a compact between the States, and that the Congress of the United States have no jurisdiction of the subject.

Again: Both Testaments enjoin men as a moral and accountable being. That a distinction between right and wrong is important, and God has given this general law for the moral regulation of his conduct. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." And that he is "not to fear them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul?" And, in short, to him who has been a slave, the compensation of his servitude, the wages of his labor, should be paid him, and, in addition, he has commanded that they should be employed, and how they should be employed.

Still farther: Both Testaments enjoin the faithful and constant exercise of every power of his nature, whether it be the bodily, social, intellectual, moral, or immortal. To give a power to act is certainly the strongest evidence of a man's power, and the power which he has over others should be employed; but, in addition, he has commanded that they should be employed, and how they should be employed.

"Well, Johnny," she said, "do you remember any of the little hymns you used to say at school?"

"No," he replied, "the pain drove it all out of my head."

"Then, do you remember any of the merry rhymes you used to sing?"

"Arrah! no ma'am, I have forgot them too."

"Do you remember nothing at all, my dear boy? Do you remember if God loves you, Johnny?"

"O, yes! yes, ma'am, I remember that."

"And how do you know that he loves you?"

She led him to the centre of the court, but the dog went before, and lay down near a smooth stone, looking up at us with an expression of fierce defiance.

"Ah, poor fellow!" said the old lady, "we're not going to disturb you. Don't go near him, ma'am, while he is there."

She was the best that could be obtained, and her voice was clear and strong.

"I have no need of food and clothing,  
But I am weak and failing—  
"Twas a fugitive enters you,  
Only let me here abide;  
Give me but one night's protection,  
And a corner where to hide!"

"Save me! for the love of Heaven,  
Will you give me to the bloodhounds?  
Will you let them drag me back,  
To be scolded, to be trampled,  
To the rack on the rack?"

"God protect you!" said the pastor,  
For I cannot let you go;

But you are fallen into me;

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